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ABSTRACT

The theme of the TACTICS (Technical Assistance Consortium to Improve College Services) conference "Developing the Black Community to Save Black Colleges" was most appropriate, since the consciousness of the nation is presently being awakened to the plight of black collges, especially the public institutions. The conference dealt with how the black community and its intellectual component-the black institution of higher learning-can should, and must become partners in pressing for positive change. The content of this report can be briefly summarized as follows: (1) status/progress reports of the consortial units; (2) the black colleges responding to community needs by working with elected officials; (3) consortial unit sessions focusing on innovative activities in problematic community areas; and (4) implementation and strategy development. Appendices include the conference program, the introductory speakers' remarks, reports concerning the development of the black community to save black colleges, a list of conference participants, and a report on black colleges and cable television. (Author/PG)

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TACTICS

(Technical Assistance Consortium To Improve College Services)

Office of the Executive Director

Dr. Oscar Mims
Community Development Specialist
Department of Housing and Urban Development
451 7th Street, S.W. - Room 8124
Washington, D. C. 20415

Dear Dr. Mims:

Attached is the report on our Black Colleges and Community Development, conference, held in Chicago on September 19-20, 1973, at the Holiday Inn Downtown.

As you will observe, the conference was quite full and equally fruitful, in that it embraced a wide range of interest areas that were dealt with by pertinent personnel and/or representatives from federal agencies having specific interest in the resolution of certain community problems.

Needless to say, we in the TACTICS operation have been very much encouraged by the interest and response of the several agencies with whom our BCCDP project has related. Particularly gratifying has been the recognition on the part of these agencies that our colleges have untapped resources that can be mobilized into a problem solving force, the likes of which we have not seen in higher education before. More important is the fact that these agenices have urged us to persevere in our efforts. And, they have commited themselves to our support.

We have come to the point we are today because of two factors, 1) HUD's underwriting of our proposal to mobilize our colleges for a fuller involvement in the resolution of community problems; and 2), the untiring efforts of Ms. Cheryl Dobbins who has planned and directed the program activities that have brought us to this stage.

We now have some meaningful problem-solving machinery in place. The task that remains is to put that machinery to work. To achieve the above end will require of all of us our continued and unstinting support and cooperation.

Pledged to the realization of that end, I am

Very truly yours,

Van S. Allen
Executive Director

VSA/mjf

2001 S Street, Northwest —Washington, D.C. 20009 / (202) 232-7738

T A C T I C S

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Associate Director for
Program Development

REPORT OF THE

SECOND

BLACK COLLEGES

AND

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CONFERENCE

By

Cheryl J. Dobbins
Associate Director for
Program Development
TACTICS

In partial fulfillment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Contract Number H-3563 with TACTICS (Technical Assistance Consortium to Improve College Services).

The theme of this conference "Developing the Black Community to Save Black Colleges" was a most appropriate and timely focus since the consciousness of the nation is presently being awaken to the plight of black colleges, especially the public institutions.

For that apparent reason, a spirit of cohesiveness and sense of dedication were its most distinguishing characteristics.

Purpose and Objective

The overriding purpose of this meeting grew out of the recommendations of the individuals who participated in the first BCCDP conference which convened in Atlanta, Georgia on June 7 and 8, 1973. The participants emphasized the need to obtain resource persons who in a very pragmatic way could provide not only program information, but also assist in sorting out alternatives for college and university involvement in program activities. This was consistent with the continued effort to:

1. assess the community development policy status and needs of certain facets of the federal system,
2. highlight the capability and resources of black colleges and universities to fill the assessed needs, especially on regional, state and local levels,
3. strengthen lines of communication and mutually reciprocal relationships between governments and colleges, and
4. develop the organizational structure and focus of the consortial work units designed to address identified needs.

This conference, therefore, had a two pronged thrust: to hear status reports and weigh findings contributed by some 60 colleges and universities and to crystalize or activate the potential of black educational institutions in the area of community development.

Program

If one will take the time to peruse the conference program,[1] it is readily discernable that there was a prestigous, talented group of individuals garnered to share their knowledge of how the black community and its intellectual component - the black institution of higher learning - can, should, and must become partners in pressing for positive change. All speakers agreed that this means that black colleges must assist the community in problem resolution. There was further agreement that planning such a rational change process comes late to higher education, white and Black.

More specifically the content of the report will be briefly summarized as follows: (1) status/progress reports[2] of the consortial units; (2) the black colleges responding to community needs by working with elected officials; (3) consortial unit sessions focusing on innovative activities in problematic community areas;[3] and (4) implementation and strategy development.

Conference participants were provided status reports of the consortial units developed as an outgrowth of the first conference. These were given by the consortial unit leaders or their designees. Dr. Roosevelt Johnson of Howard

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1 See copy of conference program in Appendix A. Please note the wide spread participation of black colleges in the United States and Africa.

2 An overview of what transpired during the three month period, June through Spetember, 1973.

3 The areas covered were Criminal Justice, Housing, Management and Organizational Development, Mental Health and Drug Abuse, Telecommunications, Transportation, Citizen Participation in the Needs Assessment Process, Education Innovations, International Black University and Implementation Strategy Development.

University discussed the topic of high priority, Criminal Justice. Dr. Arlynne Cheers of Grambling College described in a relaxed but penetrating way, Education Innovations. Dr. Hortense W. Dixon of Texas Southern University clarified with preciseness what had transpired in the important area of Management and Organizational Development. Cheryl J. Dobbins was clean up person giving a stimulating thumbnail sketch of Housing, International Black University, Mental Health and Drug Abuse, Telecommunication and Transportation.

Whereas the speakers mentioned in the afore paragraph provided the much needed continuity, it was Mr. Eddie N. Williams, President of the Joint Center for Political Studies, who with wit, keen perception and skill explored with the assembled college representative a possible, viable and responsible role for black colleges in community development.[4] The gist of his depth-oriented presentation was how black college interest in community development can be served through joint ventures with public officials. Mr. Williams stated that the Civil Rights movement has shifted from the "phase of protest" to the "phase of political action." In that context, it is necessary that implementation of action plans occur in the "city halls, county governments, state houses, ..." i.e., "where the decisions are made on who gets what, how much, and when." Such a shift has empowered elected officials as administrators. As such, they are in need of information and intelligence of local consequence which would make them knowledgeable on questions such as taxation, zoning, revenue sharing, employment as well as health, education and welfare.

He averred that administrators (elected officials) need to know, (1) how to manage conflict; (2) about fiscal management; (3) how to sell and build concensus; (4) how to work coalitions with whites or with other minority groups who are willing to help Blacks search for their goals. He reminded the audience that the

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[4] See Appendix B for copy of his speech.

nation has the laws. Now is the time for implementation, for political action. The time is ripe for action to make sure Blacks get the fruits in terms of the programs, dollars and jobs from their efforts. Development is just the beginning. Implementation is the second important phase.

What can colleges do? First, they must decide "what it is they want," whether that be money, students, contracts or whatever. It is conceivable that such can be achieved by responding to the special needs of elected officials - both Black and white. Secondly, colleges must consider coalitions of mutual interst from which increased participation can be achieved. Thirdly, colleges must create the mechanisms from which utilitarian research and data are developed. Such would become the basis of public policy forums - a mechanism through which the citizenry could be made "more knowledgeable about issues that impact on their lives."

Moreover, black colleges have the responsibility of assuring "student involvement in the whole political action phase." This involvement, however, should provide students the opportunity to gain practical experience as through "internships and special academic research projects that relate to particular activities that are going on in the community."

In essence, black elected officials, the community and universities must recognize their "very great need for each other" for the "ultimate goals" of each entity "remain constant - empowerment of the national black community and ensured economic, political and social justice and equality for minority Americans."

"For Power is power only if it is used."

The audience's positive response to the mandate given by Mr. Williams that black institutions are fundamental to the development of many community programs carried over into the afternoon sessions as the process of HOW was tackled.

A cadre of highly sophisticated specialists, representing a variety of the disciplines needed to alter curriculum as community problems are identified, tackled and solved, held the participants' interest long past the closing hour.

There was pragmatic urgency in every presentation:

1. that because of the growth of career opportunities during the past decade, it is essential to place more emphasis on quality and perhaps base emphasis on quantity in higher education for Blacks,
2. that the current crisis in education and the increasing complexity of running even the small black college makes it necessary for the institution of higher learning to expand administrations to include sophisticated managers, development experts, fund raisers and curriculum innovators,
3. that expanding career opportunities and mounting community problems make it necessary for black college students to be provided more training in law, economics, business administration, engineering, mass communication, criminology, urban planning, political science, new breeds of sociology (various aspects of housing), the sciences and the whole broad range of professional and managerial training,
4. that black colleges must be responsible for the improvement and rehabilitation of the people and their environs. They must also be responsible for providing technical expertise in developing the planning capabilities of the people.

The array of panelists[5] and their pertinent comments are too long to enumerate here, however, some highlights of priorities are summarized below.

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[5] See copy of program in Appendix for names and disciplines represented.

Mr. Robert Thompson, of the Atlanta Regional HUD office, expressed his concern about the lack of planning by black colleges. He pointed out that institutions of higher education should begin their long-range academic and physical planning through year 2000. Only four black colleges have long-range plans through 1980. People in HUD, HEW and other federal agencies are making loans and grants to schools without having their mater plans. Private colleges have no idea of the number of students they will have in 1980, 1990 or 2000. It is prudent for administrators to make master plans so that when public appeals for dollars are made, people will know how much they are talking about and anticipated institutional needs.

Since Mr. Thompson is an expert in housing he did express other concerns. He stated frankly that college housing along with funds impounded pose a moot question. The need was stressed that colleges begin to train students in all aspects of housing, especially building codes. He talked about technicians now being propelled into those positions with little or no formal training.

Mr. Thomas Higginbotham of the Chicago Regional HUD office supported Mr. Thompson's premise and discussed more specifically employment opportunities in HUD Programming. The discussion of "Housing" as a course in a college led to a debate, left somewhat unresolved, as to whether it should be a part of sociology or a distinct entity. It is one area that needs further explanation and discussion. What was learned, however, was that there are funds available for student fellowships. In the same vein Dr. Kortense Dixon, who in discussing the preparation of professionals, expressed the need for an expansion of internships and an integrated program expansion for students in this area.

Other curriculum content, worthy of maintaining, is: Residential Planning in Urban Areas, Mortgage Banking and Financing, Residential Development,

Real Estate Sales and Transactions, Public Utilities, Building Codes, Tax Shelters and Joint Ventures.

One important point was nailed down firmly: draw upon various disciplines and students will know what is happening in the entire system.

He also urged that emphasis be shifted from packaging houses to a more integrated understanding of the basics in the housing field. It was pointed out that projects can be fatal if sponsors have not thought through related problems such as (1) housing management as causes for defaults and repossessed properties; (2) counselling of persons who do not have a history of home ownership.

Burt Jackson, Gene Blackman and others pointed out the complexities of housing. All acknowledged that housing was in a serious crisis, dollar-wise and in planning. They underscored that a broad approach was needed in discussing housing, day care, schools, transportation, juvenile delinquency, the elderly, youth, jobs, etc. -- to neglect one aspect of this broad spectrum is disasterous.

College students, according to Mr. Blackman, need a strong background in economics, accounting and marketing if they are contemplating going into mortgage banking. Ted Britten, Deputy Assistant Secretary of HUD also stressed the need for lawyers, mathematicians and social workers to know the intricacies of Banking and Finance. He added that there is a tremendous market for persons who know the real estate field. It was Mr. Britten who urged that colleges can go into business for themselves, and should develop economic arms in community joint-ventures.

In a colorful, deliberate way, he cited historical examples of Jackson State College, Shaw University, Benedict College and others who have developed academic programming around housing. Mr. Britten's contribution[6] was excellent as "he told it like it is" from beginning to what was currently happening on the

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[6] Tape of speech can be had for a nominal fee.

Washington scene on September 19, 1973. He let the participants know about the recently released housing study which dealt with such issues as Direct Subsidy through the Housing Allowance Experiment, Home Improvement Loans, Bank Foreclosures, Repossessed Homes, Land Use and many other pertinent topics necessary for community development with black college input.

Mrs. Evelyn Jones Rich of the African American Institute and two African professors teaching in American universities[7] in a very short time informed the participants how black colleges in the United States and those in Africa could work together to build a viable cooperative relationship and a valid curriculum. Dr. Njaka brought greetings from the University of Lagos where he stated that some 60 million Africans in Nigeria were still struggling for freedom. Problems in the African universities equated those in black colleges in North America: limited funds, lack of buildings, equipment, insufficient faculty and staff, student unrest.[8] The students want better accommodations, books, equipment and the like; but twenty pounds a year will not provide for such. The money comes from the government as the students pay very little. However, African students' rights are respected and they are on virtually all of the committees in strategic decision-making positions: academic, discipline, outreach programs or what have you.

In all Nigerian universities there must be a course in African history, culture, art, etc. The thrust for all Africans is to reeducate themselves. The African-American Black Studies which Dr. Njaka teaches at the University of Maryland is an entity of that process. As a division with six areas, politics runs through them all including community involvement, field placements and the like.

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[7] University of Maryland and Norfolk State College.

[8] Demanding and wanting crash programs with limited or no financial resources.

In summing up the many ways black colleges and African institutions of higher learning could support each other, two approaches were stressed. One was the exchange of faculty and students and the other was the contribution that black land-grant colleges could make to Africa. The expertness of these particular colleges, which were designed to develop an enlightened professional leadership to serve the needs of a major agricultural and growing mechancial and industrial society, has much of what Africa needs today in its development.

Other educational areas explored briefly were early childhood education and adult and vocational education. Both are essential to combating the problems of the communities. High infant death rates and inadequate day care centers for working mothers are just two of the myraid of obstacles and barriers to the health, growth and development of minority children. Some 23,00 workers will be needed in early childhood professions each year until 1980. Dr. William C. Young of the U.S. Department of Education, urged that participants contact the Adult Education section about possible funding for innovative training projects. Money is available through the Adult Education Act and the Vocational Educational Act. Career education, Dr. Young maintained, is a growing trend and black colleges must learn to utilize it to expand programming.

Mrs. Marion P. Hayes had strictly done her homework as can be seen by her compilation in the Appendix on the Number of Black Colleges who had cable communication or related equipment, such as closed circuit T.V., which is capable of conversion to cable. In fact, 56 schools are already using video equipment. Important was that out of 111 black colleges surveyed, 74 responded. It was unfortunate that time just would not permit the participants to pursue this subject for which much enthusiasm was shown. Mrs. Hayes raced graphically through the history of cable communication and how it originated in mountain

regions of Pennsylvania. She noted that when viewers could not receive conventional TV because of the mountains, television manufacturers developed an antenna to pick-up signals from Philadelphia, New York and other places. They made it possible for places which had one local station to pick-up as many as four additional stations.

This led to a fascinating discussion of the co-axle with the conferees being told that with this kind of technology two-way classes can be given. Black colleges and other educational institutions can test students in their home. Telecommunications can increase educational opportunities. The content necessary to pass the High School Equivalency test can be secured using this method. Laboratory experiments can also be placed on the screen.

There are 34 black colleges in municipalities where cable has already been laid. Where cable TV is operative on campus it can be extended to the community surrounding the campus.

Resources are being sought through the National Science Foundation and other agencies in order to establish cable communication centers.

One of the cogent and tangible accomplishments of the "goodie" packed conference was the adoption of the proposal to establish a Criminal Justice Center. Mr. Roosevelt Johnson of Howard University in the absence of Dr. Lee Brown, led this lively discussion which ran smoothly with the assist of Mr. Edward Braxton of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The funding date for such a paradigm model of the kind being proposed was almost upon us. There was unanimous agreement in the approval that the prospectus on Criminal Justice be submitted for possible funding under the 1968 Safe Streets Act. When submitted to LEAA it should have attached letters from black college Presidents supporting this activity. The center would develop a consortia of black institutions of higher education which could turn out individuals who are experienced to function in

and administer Criminal Justice programs. The Center would concern itself with research (causes and affects of crime): manpower training of personnel for law enforcement, courts, and correctional institutions; and fundamental administration in the administration of justice. Black colleges, according to Mr. Braxton, have a lot of catching up to do in research and funding. There are few black criminologists to fill the ever increasing demand.

It was pointed out that although Howard University had been funded to conduct a drug crisis intern program, LEAA provided the National Urban League a million dollars to train blacks in the criminal justice system. This career development training program for defendants who leave jail to re-enter the community could also have been done by black colleges.

Black involvement throughout the system is needed. Standards, goals and criminal justice reform are presently warranted. The Civil Rights suit in Chicago against the police is a glaring example. Probation and parole officers are disproportionally white. The justification could go on and on.

Dr. Roy J. Jones, President of Social Systems Intervention and a most verbal and able speaker, tied what he succinctly described as Drug Abuse programming into the warp and woof of the criminal justice program. He filled the participants in on the plans for a drug abuse center at Livingstone College. This would be part of a consortium structured possibly with Winston-Salem State University and Johnson C. Smith College.

Dr. Jones repeated that Dr. Lonnie Mitchell, Director of the Division of Narcotics of NIMH, should have been making the presentation as he is willing to go beyond the talking stage. Treatment centers are scarce; about 19 programs are federally funded. The one center stressing research and rehabilitation is located in Lexington, Kentucky. Planned are regional conferences sponsored by NIMH and

conducted by Dr. Mitchell and his staff. It was pointed out that many colleges needing expertise in proposal development in regard to drugs cannot afford, in a good many instances, to send representatives to such conference. Dr. Jones assured the group that provisions would be made for all who wished to participate.

Blacks perpetrating crimes on Blacks in drug-ridden cities pose a serious health problem and one which must be addressed in the community development process.

These meaty discussions included a most interesting presentation by Mr. Leroy E. Johnson, Office of the Secretary, Department of Transportation, and Mrs. Maxine Wallace, representative, Griffith Associates, who talked about the impact of transportation on people and how it was applicable to community development in both rural and urban areas. He indicated that the U.S. Department of Transportation, existant since 1967, cuts across a broad spectrum of services such as the U.S. Coast Guard, highway traffic, airport control, aviation, transit, etc. He then described the flow-through process for handling planning funds for coordinating these programs in 50 states.

Mr. Johnson emphatically underscored how important transportation is to community development. He asked questions such as: how do Blacks get to jobs and plants now being built in suburbia? He felt that the black universities and colleges should play an important role in solving transportation problems. Presently there is $10 million for university research. Thirty-four universities have been funded, of this number 5 were Black. Grants range from $50,000 to $100,000. Clark, Southern, South Carolina State and North Carolina A.T. College, etc. were recipients. The program will be continued next year with 6 million dollars for funding purposes.

In 1973 the Highway Act was passed with a $26 billion appropriation over a three year period. TACTICS was encouraged to contact the Department of Transportation and get a proposal to them for consideration. Mr. Johnson also asked that he be sent the names of the colleges so he could package and send them the necessary data on the important resources available and new inputs under the New Federalism.

This part of the program ended with a large number of weary, hopeful and highly stimulated participants ready for action.

If there were any doubters, the Honorable Floyd H. Hyde, HUD Under Secretary, on the following day cleared their ambivalence. The message, beautifully done and rendered with conviction is attached in Appendix E. Let me in capsule form point out two important concepts nailed down for us by Mr. Hyde as he told us convincingly that "the United States is entering a new community development era."

First, he stated "that Congress is about to get down to the business on our Better Communities proposal," which he believes will result in land legislation.

The approaches called for by the Better Communities Act will revolutionize community development planning and management. That revolution will greatly expand the requirement for local planners -- for on the scene expertise to replace much of what HUD has been supplying from Washington. This is where the black colleges and universities can plummet into importance by helping to determine the future of this nation. Mr. Hyde is convinced that the BCA will bring greater recognition to the need for direct minority involvement in the conduct of local government.

Secondly, he stated frankly that the New Federalism -- the philosophical base of the Better Communities Act -- assigns each function of government to the most appropriate level of government.

He neither believes that the Federal Government is shirking its responsibilities nor that the cities and counties will ignore the minorities and the poor. He labeled the charge absurd and gave substance in his speech to refute those who make such assertions. He believes that the administration is taking the shackles off the poor and the minorities with New Federalism.

The final day of the conference was capped by excellent presentations from two individuals with well-seasoned experiental bases in the citizen participation process. Mr. Robert M. Alpine of the National Retired Teachers Association drawing from his work in Model Cities urged black colleges and universities to expand their purviews to include organized community groups. Such an input will serve to make more pragmatic the institution's involvement as well as to strengthen local initiative which is a requisite component of the New Federalism. If properly postured, colleges in working jointly with such established groups locally, regionally and nationally can begin to tap special revenue-sharing funds which are being designed for that purpose.

Dr. Granville Sawyer, President of Texas Southern University, in prefacing his remarks, made it quite clear that the process of change that his institution has been making to convert its institutional direction from general to special purpose is a long way from either perfection or completion. He reiterated the genesis and progression of that changed focus which is in its fifth year of development. From it he was able to generalize several major considerations which are essential to a venture of this sort. Legal restraints, political necessities, programmatic delineations and economic realities must be built into all planning.

He cautioned the less stout-hearted and the easily dissuaded to choose some other line of work because reaching consensus among the varying components of the community is a long and tedious process which has to constantly be maintained.

On the point of the survivability of black colleges, he felt that success approaches such as his hinge upon schools codifying what they have been doing all along, systemmatizing what they are doing presently, developing the internal and external capability to share leadership and in so doing generate relevant and supportable programs. Successes, though small initially, will build.

In summary, it was agreed that the institutions have and must relate themselves to the communities of which they are a part, seeking knowledge, wisdom and vision whenever they are to be found, distilling these into the art of effective transmission, and collaborating with others in determining their revelance to the massive issues discussed in this conference: child care, innovative education, international university approach, housing, drug abuse, criminal justice, economic development, cable communications, transportation, research, as well as to a long-range strategy for human progress, especially Blacks.

Participants were also in accord with those who are aware that while the traditionally black colleges may lack adequate educational resources, they clearly succeed in giving many students a better learning atmosphere, stronger motivation and better education than they can find elsewhere. The representatives from these traditionally black institutions were equally confident that they had the capacities to develop the community and train the planners and developers who would make the decisions about local and state governments.

TACTICS, in light of this conference, sees the full paradigm of education -- institution and agency linkages -- as offering a series of options in developing the black community to save the black colleges:

1. A single university department can reach out to the community in general.
2. A single university department or division may link to a single agency, local institution (church, school) or community group.

3. A consortium of university departments may join together to reach out to a single group, or to the community in general.
4. A group of universities may form a consortia (join together) to reach out as in option (1) or in option (2) as stated above.
5. Contrarywise, a single community organization, group or individual may reach back to a single department, consortia of departments or consortia of universities.
6. TACTICS, serving a broker function between universities and community groups, offices and agencies may try to bring them together as appropriate tasks are defined and strategies for implementation needed.

Direct group action as a route to political effectiveness was the thread of continuity which permeated the conference. Each speaker in one way or the other urged that students, teachers and practitioners from various fields seek out one another. They were told to attempt to develop egalitarian, mutually supportive relationships in research, housing, transportation, day care, juvenile delinquency, schools, career training, management, criminal justice, media and other service programs. They were admonished to enrich one another with reciporcal wisdom, breaking down the institutional and disciplinary walls that divide us.

"APPENDICES"

TACTICS

Black Colleges and Community Development Conference

September 19—21, 1973

"DEVELOPING THE BLACK COMMUNITY TO SAVE THE BLACK COLLEGES"

HOLIDAY INN - DOWNTOWN
Madison and Halsted
Chicago, Illinois 60606

(312) 829-5000

SEPTEMBER 19, 1973

8:00 A.M.	CONFERENCE REGISTRATION Holiday Inn Downtown — MADISON B - Foyer
9:00 - 10:30	GENERAL ASSEMBLY Holiday Inn Downtown — MADISON B Room "Developing the Black Community to Save Black Colleges" DR. EDDIE N. WILLIAMS PRESIDENT JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
10:30 - 10:45	COFFEE BREAK
10:45 - 11:45	GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSORTIAL UNIT STATUS REPORTS
11:45 - 12:45	LUNCH
12:45 - 1:00	TRANSPORTATION TO MALCOLM X COLLEGE Boarding of buses will commence at 12:45 with 1:00 P.M. departure
1:30 - 4:30	CONSORTIAL UNIT SESSIONS - MALCOLM X COLLEGE CRIMINAL JUSTICE: DR. LEE P. BROWN, Howard University RESOURCE PERSONS - Mr. Edward H. Braxton, LEAA - Washington - Mr. J. Price Foster, LEAA - Atlanta - Mr. Howard Thomas, LEAA - Chicago EDUCATION INNOVATIONS: DR. ARLYNNE CHEERS, Grambling College RESOURCE PERSONS - Dr. Maceo Bryant, Office of Child Development - Dr. George A. Rhodes, Equal Employment - OE - Dr. James L. Robinson, Project Headstart - Dr. Dolly Walker, Consultant - Dr. William C. Young, Adult Education - OE

SEPTEMBER 19, 1973

HOUSING : DR. WILBUR MITCHELL, Mary Holmes College
RESOURCE PERSONS
- Mr. T.M. Alexander, Jr., Deputy Regional Administrator HUD - Atlanta
- Ms. Ida Fisher, Associated Midwest Mortgage Company
- Mr. Irving Garrett, Director, Illinois Housing Authority
- Ms. Louciene Watson, Assistant Regional Administrator HUD - Chicago

INTERNATIONAL BLACK UNIVERSITY : DR. BRINSTON B. COLLINS, Norfolk State College
RESOURCE PERSONS
- Mrs. Evelyn Jones Rich, African-American Institute
- Representatives from African Universities

POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS: African and American
Theme: GETTING IT TOGETHER IN BLACK EDUCATION
* Building a Valid Curriculum
* Teacher Training
* Reaching Out to Others

MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT : DR. HORTENSE W. DIXON, Texas Southern University
RESOURCE PERSONS
- Mr. Lawrence Bailey, National League of Cities/ U.S. Conference of Mayors
- Mr. Richard Fairley, Division of Compensatory Education - OE
- Mr. Antonio Harrison, Consultant
- Mr. Lee E. Monroe, American Society of Planning Officials

MENTAL HEALTH AND DRUG ABUSE : DR. O.K. BEATTY, Livingstone College
RESOURCE PERSONS
- Dr. Lonnie E. Mitchell, Division of Narcotics - NIMH
- Dr. Roy J. Jones, Consultant

TELECOMMUNICATIONS : COLONEL BURNETT W. PETERS, Hampton
RESOURCE PERSON
- Ms. Marion P. Hayes, Cablecommunication Resource Center

TRANSPORTATION :
RESOURCE PERSONS
- Mr. Leroy E. Johnson, Office of the Secretary - DOT
- Reg Griffith Associates

SEPTEMBER 20, 1973

8:00 CONFERENCE REGISTRATION MADISON B - Foyer

Holiday Inn Downtown MADISON B

9:00 - 10:30 Introduction of Speaker by: Mr. Clifford Graves
Deputy Assistant Secretary
Community Planning and Management
Department of Housing and Urban Development

Speaker THE HONORABLE FLOYD H. HYDE
UNDER SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

10:30 - 12:00 GENERAL ASSEMBLY: CHERYL J. DOBBINS, Associate Director
TACTICS - Black Colleges and Community Development Program

CONSORTIAL UNIT REPORTS

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

12:00 LUNCH

1:00 - 5:00 CONSORTIAL UNIT LEADERS WORK SESSION

SEPTEMBER 21, 1973

9:00 - 12:00 GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Holiday Inn Downtown MADISON B

PANEL: "CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE NEEDS ASSESSMENT PROCESS"

- MRS. LORETTA T. AVENT, Citizen Participation Coordinator METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENTS
- MR. RICHARD COWARD, Special Assistant Office of Community Development, HUD
- MR. ROBERT McALPINE, Liaison Representative National Retired Teachers Association
- MR. JAMES S. WILSON, Program Manager National League of Cities/U. S. Conference of Mayors

12:00 ADJOURN

APPENDIX B

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Oscar L. Mims

The Joint Center for Political Studies was founded in 1970 to serve Black and other minority group elected officials and others representing minority group interests. It provides (1) research on public policies and programs and on minority group participation in the electorial process. (2) It provides technical assistance to help elected officials develop tools of the skills they need to do their jobs better. (3) Information in the form of published research reports, a monthly newsletter, a roster of Black elected officials, and other publications. JCPS - Joint Center of Political Studies is a non-profit, non-partisan organization. JCPS is funded by private foundations under the joint sponsorship of Howard University and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. JCPS is an important resource for the press, scholars, and other organizations and individuals concerned with minority group interests and JCPS is the only national organization of its kind.

Eddie N. Williams, President of JCPS, before becoming its Head in July 1972, was Vice President for Public Affairs at the University of Chicago which he joined in 1968. At Chicago, he was responsible for the Center of Political Studies which sponsored seminars and papers on major policy issues. Earlier he was Director of the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity and Special Assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary of the U. S. State Department. Mr. Williams has also been a research editor at AFL-CIO and a congressional staff worker. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1932, he earned his Bachelor's Degree in Journalism at the University of Illinois and did his graduate work in Political Science at Howard and Atlanta Universities. He has been a reporter for the Atlanta Daily World

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Dr. Oscar L. Mims, Community Development Specialist, Office of Technical Services Division, Department of HUD is the Government Technical Representative for the TACTICS' Black Colleges Community Development Program.

and while in Chicago wrote a weekly editorial page column for the Chicago Sun Times. With a great deal of pleasure, I present to you this morning our keynote speaker, Eddie N. Williams.

APPENDIX B

"Developing the Black Community to Save Black Colleges"*

by Eddie N. Williams
President
Joint Center of
Political Studies

It's a very great pleasure for me to have this opportunity to address this opening session of the TACTICS conference. When Cheryl invited me to be your speaker I could hardly refuse. She is quite persuasive as I think all of you know. But more important than that I believe in technical assistance - that really is what the Joint Center is about in many ways dealing with the nation's Black and minority elected officials. I also believe in our Black colleges and I believe that we're on the brink of a new civil rights phase today which will require the technical assistance and continued support from our colleges.

In addition, I'm delighted to be back in Chicago. Because of my four years as administrator at the University of Chicago plus my student days at Howard and Atlanta Universities I feel somewhat at home both in this city and in this program today. I will recall however, that when I was being recruited to come to the University of Chicago from the State Department - this was in 1968 and people at the University of Chicago had tried various tactics... strategies... to get me to be interested since I am not really by training an academician and I was really scared to death to be on a college campus. I said once I got my degree I wouldn't go back again. So there they weren't making much headway. So,one fellow came to Washington one day. He said, "Look, you're in the State Department and you're taking all this flack about Vietnam...I know you're opposed to the war ...you have to bite your tongue in the Department...why don't you

come to a great institution like the University of Chicago where you can hear yourself think and you can sit down and deal with great problems confronting mankind."

Well, perhaps because of that persuasive argument or perhaps because of the money or what have you I accepted the position.

I got there in November 1968 and sure enough things were going along fine. Our new President, a distinguished scholar, Edward Levi, was inaugurated, I had to confront the Chicago weather; but I was accustomed to that. But by January of 1969 the famous or perhaps infamous sit-ins started at the University of Chicago and I was sitting in my office looking out of the front window one day and about twenty kids came in and just took over everything and threatened to bodily throw me out.

I wanted to share that bit of experience to let you know that I know where some of you who are in higher education are coming from and some of the kinds of challenges you face.

If you read the program you might get the impression that I'm going to talk about developing the Black community to save Black Colleges. Well, if I had all the answers to that question, myself, I think that I would have my own TACTICS and go out and set up my services and sell my knowledge to all the highest bidders. That is indeed a challenging subject, a challenging issue. It is one that confronts this group. It is one that confronts many of us across this country. It obviously is much too broad a subject for me to handle. And in even thinking about the possibility of my handling a subject of that scope reminds me of the story about Johnathan and the Lord.

You know Johnathan was walking along one day and he fell over this cliff. As he fell over the crest of this cliff he grabbed on to a little limb that was sticking out on the side of the hill...he was hanging on

there for dear life. There was nothing below him but jagged rocks. There was no way for him to get up and he started to pray, he said, "Lord please save me. Please help me." And the Lord said, "Johnathan I'll help you, but first tell me do you have faith?" "Oh yes, yes Lord," he pleaded. The Lord said "Johnathan, now tell me do you really have faith?" He said, "Oh yes Lord, yes I really do have faith." So the Lord said to Johnathan, "Well Johnathan, if you have faith let go of that limb." And Johnathan thought about that for a short time and he paused and he looked up and he said, "Is anybody else up there?"

So, when confronted with this broad and challenging subject I must say - Is anybody else out there? and I know you're all out there who can help address this challenging and momentous question. But I'd like to take on a piece of it and I'd like to talk about the role of Black colleges in the political phase of the civil rights movement and I intend to suggest how Black colleges can help the community and I think that a strong community in the long run is the best salvation for the Black college.

In terms of the welfare and advancement of Black people in America I think we're facing a new challenge today. Quite frankly I think the challenge is to use the social, economic, educational and other achievements that we have won up till now...limited though they may be in order to make the political system, to make the political process, more responsive to our needs in the seventies. Our needs are great and varied. But clearly we need to protect our hard won gains from the rip-offs of vested-interest groups. We need housing, jobs, education and a host of social services. We need greater respect and we want there to be a greater awareness of our contributions to this society. Much has been accomplished

through the civil rights successes of the fifties and the sixties. Protests, painful as they were, have been a driving force in bringing us this far. But the tactical contest has lost its utility. The times call for a new approach, for new leadership and for renewed commitment to make America realize her noble dreams to assure a social justice and human dignity for all Americans.

Protests, marches, sit-ins, law suits all served a purpose. We have won successes in the Congress and the Courts. Now, I think it is time to ACT to make sure that we get the fruits in terms of the programs and the dollars, and the jobs from our efforts. To pass a law is not to assure its equitable implementation...or to develop an academic curriculum is not to say it will be effective. Development is just the beginning.

Implementation is another important phase. It is the phase in which there is the daily nitty-gritty give and take on all kinds of problems, in all kinds of issues. It is actually getting the job done. We have the laws. Now it is time for implementation for political action. That is why I say the civil rights movement is in a new phase - the phase of political action.

We have shifted from the phase of protest...and the signs of this change are all about us. 2,627 Black elected officials in this country; one hundred twenty percent gain since 1969. Eighty eight mayors controlling key cities including Gary, Newark, Los Angeles...with contests fraturing significant Black contenders in Detroit and Atlanta. With ten percent of the national electorate, there are fifty nine congressional districts in which the Black population is twenty five percent or more. There are seventeen members of Congress...the number has tripled since

1968. In terms of the political organizations that are increasingly becoming more active...the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, the State Legislative Caucus here in Chicago, the National Black Political Assembly just to name a few of the more prominent organizations.

As well, we have achieved influence in other organizations. The National League of Cities - Mayor Tom Bradley in December will become President of that national prestigious organization. In the U. S. Conference of Mayors, one finds Mayors Hatcher, Bradley, Gibson, Hart, Blackwell and Bivens all playing very pivotal roles. And there are other signs.

Last year in South Carolina's Sixth Congressional District, Blacks were substantially in control of the defeat of Representative John L. MacMillan who as you know for years was the chairman of the House District of Columbia Committee and stood against home rule for the District of Columbia. In the Democratic Primary Blacks contributed forty-seven percent of the total vote of Mr. MacMillan's opponent...and his opponent won. He lost in the general election. But nevertheless, MacMillan is gone and what happened? Congressman Charles Diggs is now chairman of the House District Committee and we are perhaps closer to home rule today than we have been for a long time.

Here in Chicago the Black vote was significantly responsible for the defeat of Mayor Daley's State's Attorney Edward B. Hanrihan. And one can look at the defeat of conservative Congresswoman Louise Day Hicks in Boston where the Black vote was pivotal. Blacks have in the last election exercised a balance of power in contests in Memphis, Norfolk, Wilmington and other cities. Blacks have taken political control of

Petersburg, Virginia. What is significant about that is that this is the first time since Reconstruction that Blacks have taken over total political control of a predominantly white city in the south.

And what about the activists who are now seeking to work their agenda in the political process, with Bobby Seale, for example, seeking the office of mayor. What about the political muscle being used by Blacks in Durham, North Carolina where they are holding up a city/county - consolidation until the regional government proposal includes a strong civil rights plan.

I could go on and the examples I would cite may not be the most notable and the most dramatic illustrations of drawing Black political power and of the means to seize and to use political power. And as we said by these examples, who do we find in the leadership positions? We find Black elected officials. They have inherited, whether they like it or not, the new civil rights leadership. They are the ones who are responsible for guiding us on this new action phase of the civil rights movement. Not because they are smarter, not because others have advocated responsibility, but because they are where the implementation action takes place. They are in the Congress. They are in city halls, in county governments, in the State Houses, on the Boards of Education, the courthouses and in the jailhouses and other places <u>where the decisions are actually made on who gets what, how much, and when</u>.

Their burden is heavy. They must be better than their white colleagues in many ways because the demands on them...the demands from us...are more urgent and more intense.

Let us look at the problem of the urban administrator today and, for

the most part, our elected cfficials are indeed urban administrators. What do they need? What are their needs? Well first of all they need information and intelligence so that they can deal with the issues before them. So that they can be knowledgeable and sophisticated, they also need to know how to use this information effectively. They need to know how to orchestrate the various components of government. They need to know how to sell and to build concensus...how to work coalitions with whites or with other minority groups or with whomever is willing to go along with us in the search for the goals that we are looking for. They need to know how to manage conflict. They need also to know about fiscal management.

During this past fifteen years there have been many critical developments in the lives of our Black colleges not the least of which has been the issue of viable survival. During the same time there have been two major crucial developments in the lives of our cities where most Blacks are. First of all there has been a changing pattern of population with eighty percent of the growth taking place in metropolitan areas but more than eighty percent of that growth taking place outside of central cities. Blacks are approaching majority in many central cities across this country and they are confronting the problem of the suburbs and metropolitan areas taking over and actually running city government through various forms of regional plans and regional councils.

Another development is that the fiscal problems, the money problems, of local government have increased. The challenge then it seems to me is for the representatives of all levels of government to work with private groups, colleges and universities and other institutions to understand what is happening and to realize our full expectation. Therefore it is a challenge to the Black elected official not simply to be knowledgeable on the Black condition

or simply to be knowledgeable on such questions as health, education, and welfare but to be knowledgeable on taxation, on zoning, on revenue sharing, on economic development, on foreign policy, on housing, on employment, on day care...the list could go on and on.

For Black elected officials must deliver tangible and visible results. And how ironic it is that such pressures are placed on the individuals who are by and large new to the political process and inexperienced at the political game. Nevertheless the pressures are there and they are real. And unfortunately the needs of our people are so immediate that we cannot afford the luxury of giving our political leaders a break-in period, a honeymoon, a time for trial and error. We want them to produce results right now.

And many <u>are</u> producing. Most have limited staff and limited resources to work with. Most have lost or do not trust the traditional white community resources - whether universities, banks, chambers of commerce and so forth - which aided their white predecessors in the past. And it is in part to meet this challenge that the Joint Center for Political Studies was created.

But the elected officials need far more than the Joint Center or the Voter Education Project or the Urban League or TACTICS or any other single organization can provide. They especially need assistance from organizations and individuals who are familiar with local problems and local issues. And here I think is the crucial role for the Black college to play. It is a role they can play while at the same time doing what they were primarily created to do, mainly to provide a quality education and they can do it in a way that helps them to solve their own problems.

Helping Black elected officials to help the communities they represent often including Black colleges is not inconsistent with the traditional roles of our colleges. For in addition to providing education, all of them have made tremendous efforts to improve the condition of Black people. It is not surprising, therefore, that much of the NAACP's legal research in the historic discrimination cases came from Black college campuses. Nor is it surprising that Black students helped to launch the sit-in movement of the 60's and to initiate the search for relevance in academic curriculum. Black colleges, students, faculty, and alumni have traditionally supplemented classroom teaching with a little field experience we could call political action. This is why I feel so strongly that our institutions can do so much to make the political phase of the civil rights movement as successful as the protest phase.

Let me just tick off some of the things that I think we need to be thinking about. Let's ask the question, What can Black colleges do? First of all, I think institutions, like individuals, before deciding what they can and what they will do, must decide what it is they want. What is our vested interest, what is our enlightened self interest? Is it money? Do we need money to support physical plants, curriculum, faculty and students. Is it publicity which also helps in terms of prestige? Is it obtaining grants and contracts? Is it obtaining buildings? Is it attracting students and faculty? Or if it is not any of these is it simply to make a contribution in behalf of the Black community which makes a difference in terms of the life and condition of Black people? Whatever we perceive our vested interests to be there is room for us to achieve them, I think, in responding to community needs through special needs of our elected officials and also - I might add - in working with white elected officials because they too are in seats of power and they too are in the decision-making process.

Second of all I think we need to consider coalitions of mutual interest. In many ways colleges are some of the most political institutions we have around today. I say that with some degree of experience. We certainly can look at the whole question of political participation whether it is helping to get people registered or encouraging them to go out and vote or simply providing analysis of issues that impact on the Black community. All these are contributions that can support the elected officials. And let me just be very clear that when I am talking about political participation I am for the most part not referring to partisan politics. I don't care what party an individual belongs to whether it is Democrat, Republican or other. What is important and what makes a difference is to participate - participate from registration to voting to making views known to articulated concerns. That is what makes the system work.

When you talk to elected officials you only have to talk to them for two minutes to understand that one of the most important factors, one of the most important things to them, is the whole question of numbers. They do know how to count. They can count votes for and they can count votes against...and that is power. So there is the question of political participation.

What about research and data development? Now research is integral to the life of higher education, I know that I've read a lot of research much of which I personally consider to be esoteric but I'm sure it served the purpose at a given place at a given time. But what about research on housing, what about research on education, what about research on community economic development, what about research on zoning, on revenue sharing? All these are questions that impact upon the daily lives of our people and there are altogether too many elected officials in this country who when they go before a forum whether it is

a city council or a state legislature or their Congress are woefully unprepared in terms of research data. And you know when we don't have the facts we talk loud...and we talk rhetoric and other politicians do the same thing.

But the day of rhetoric is passed and we're being asked to produce and we need hard facts. We need to have less shucking and jiving and more hard data whether it comes out of a computer or whether it comes out of Black brain to confront the facts and data and issues that others are bringing before us.

Let me give you an example of how that works. University of Chicago is considered one of the great urban universities; it is located on the south side of Chicago. Now when I say south side I don't need to tell you anything else. But clearly it's unique in many ways. On one side sits one of the largest most economically deprived ghettos in the country and on the other side, the other flank, sits one of the most supreme, sophisticated middle - to upper - income communities in the country. So we have Woodlawn on the one hand and Hyde Park on the other.

Well when the whole strategy of urban renewal and model cities got started, it was University of Chicago faculty working with the Black leaders in Woodlawn who sat down and wrote a beautiful master plan to get millions of dollars into the city and into that community for economic development, for improvement of that community. And why was it strictly out of the noblesse oblige or what have you of the University? No, it realized that its vested interest was caught up in the salvation of that Black community. One can just imagine the nightmares of white administrators there thinking of the Blacks enraged - and other Blacks coming across

and taking over the university campus. So it was in their self interest to do this...and they did it. They brought together some of the best minds in economics and in sociology and in anthropology and in mathematics and in physics and they put together a plan that was very persuasive...and they got that plan passed in Washington...that is the kind of coalition of mutual interest that I'm talking about.

Public Policy Forums - we need to find a way to make our citizens far more knowledgeable about issues that impact on their lives. Now, we at the Joint Center have done a lot of research on revenue sharing, on general revenue sharing which is already in effect and on special revenue sharing which is being proposed by the administration. And we have been pointing out some of the issues and some of the facets of this law or this legislation which have peculiar impacts and negative impacts for Black people.We're getting this information to citizen leaders and to elected officials in the hope that they will use it wisely in the various forums where they operate. So the use of public policy forums - and I know many institutions have them, same as for policy analysis same as for policy study...these can be very effective in bringing town and gown closer together.

But no area is as important I think as the whole areas of student involvement in this whole political action phase. One of the responsibilities of Black colleges is to serve not as a womb to lull their students into a sense of security and well-being, but to be a stepping stone for new generations of Blacks into the real world. We must prepare them not for a role of by-standers or even simply beneficiaries but for leadership in the reality of the American system. Black colleges it is sometimes said, tend to be

overprotective...they postpone the inevitable moment when Black kids will have to compete against Harvard MBA's or Princeton graduates. They do not systemmatically and consciously prepare their students for that competition. I say that the Harvards and the Princetons and the Antiochs lure Black students into a false sense of security but for Black colleges our job is to prepare them for the world of reality.

You and I know that Black colleges, and all who wish these institutions well, must prepare a generation which will be Black and proud as engineers as economists as members of the Board of Directors of white or Black corporations. No other education, I think, is good enough for Black people.

But the students want involvement, they want experience...and there are many ways to provide that experience. It is interesting...I think, in fact, there was an article in the New York Times last Sunday about how Black students at Harvard are reacting to their whole socializing experience. We receive a number of calls from Black kids at Harvard, from Yale, from Princeton and from other predominantly white institutions. They want to come and work for the Joint Center on a volunteer basis or they want to use some university program that would give them a chance to internship in the kind of political activity that we're involved in...which is trying to make the political system do our bidding.

I think we need to find more opportunities to provide this kind of practical experience-internship opportunities, special academic research projects that relate to particular activities that are going on in the community, (etc.). If we don't have the money for the students or if we don't have the money for the programs then I think we as educators or we as elected officials have got to put more pressure on government or put more pressure on foundations or put more pressure on corporations to provide that money because this is a very important

educational experience. It is, I think, a very complimentary aspect of the classroom educational experience.

But elected officials in the community and universities should recognize their very great need for each other. Black institutions of higher learning are fundamental to the development of many community programs. They can contribute ideas, they can contribute brain power, they can be sounding boards. They should be instrumental in developing educational techniques and programs which successfully deal with the unique social, cultural and economic background of the community of which they are a part.

Most Black elected officials are chosen by Blacks, therefore, it is in large measure the responsibility of Blacks to see that they have the resources available to them to do the job that is required of them. So we at the Joint Center, when we talk to Black elected officials, we tell them you go out to that local university, make that contact and you find out what that political science department can do for you. Tell them that you've got bills on economic opportunity or on economic development and that you don't understand some of that jargon that these consultants are talking about. Get yourself knowledgeable and educated.

And so today we talk to you who are interested in or are part of higher education. We say that you seek out the Black elected officials...that you have a vested interest in making sure that he is knowledgeable, in making sure that he is skillful and in making sure that he responds to your needs or to your community's needs.

Black elected officials as well as institutions of higher education and the communities must recognize that there is a need to unite. Our problems are vast and varied and they require solutions on many levels - through education, legislation, court action, and public policy - just to name a few.

But I firmly believe that at this juncture in our experience that the sophisticated and skillful use of the political process offers a great opportunity to forge ahead. We're talking about seizing and using political power to get where we want to go whether that is increasing Black employment, getting a fair shake in revenue sharing, raising money for Black education or for whatever goal. It has worked for others since the founding of the republic and there is no reason - given our political development - that it can not work for us.

It is a new day for us. We must recognize that. The political culture begs our participation. We have much to offer and much to gain. We demand informed, skillful and bold political leadership...and it is, I think, a fair demand. But our investment must be a spiritual, yes, even a fanatical commitment to participate in the political process from stem to stern, from runner to victorious politician, from political strategist to political operator, from schrewed policy analyst to smooth orator.

While we're pushing civil rights to a new level of involvement, our ultimate goals remain constant - empowerment of the national Black community and ensured economic, political and social justice and equality for minority Americans. New strategies and tactics are required these days, yet our will to overcome must burn just as intensely in our hearts as it did during the 60's. Herein lies a great challenge to the elected official and to the community at large. The development of strategies, tactics, and programs to deal effectively with today's issues - whether revenue sharing and regionalism or education, jobs and housing - requires a zealous devotion to painstaking homework. Fact must supercede fantasy. Positive action must replace windy rhetoric and private agendas must bow to the community's interests.

Officials who stimulate enough of a following to get themselves elected certainly can find ways to create and sustain in their constituents positive attitudes toward political participation that resemble the remarkable religious fervor, dedication and spirit of self-sacrifice which characterized the movement of the 60's. Politics can indeed be a spiritual experience because, in large measure, it is a process by which we do unto others. It can be addictive when the taste of victory is ever so sweet.

Stimulating our people to march to the polls in magic numbers, to vote out of office those who treat us with benign neglect, and to break political bread with those who share our goals, if not our cause, are but a few of the challenges that will test all of us in the new civil rights phase.

First there must be a firm resolve to find creative ways of turning our people on to politics, the way they were turned on to protest. There is an equally heavy burden on the rest of us. Our commitment must be to a purpose higher than self. We must learn to recognize in every political activity - whether registration, voting, protesting, and yes, wheeling and dealing in the complex political market place - just how our self interest is best served.

What we are talking about today is how Black colleges' interests can be served through joint ventures with public officials. Booker T. Washington, who counselled education and economic development once said "The temptation to enter political life was so alluring that I came here yielding at one time". If he were alive today, Washington probably would obey his instincts, yielding to the knowledge that among the quickest and most certain ways to achieve Black educational, economic and other goals, is the sophisticated use of the political process. We must probe for effective ways to exercise the political muscle we have to consolidate the victories we have won in the Congress and in the Courts. If we fail in this, we do ourselves and all freedom fighters since

Reconstruction a great disservice.

For power is power only if it is used.

APPENDIX C

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APPENDIX D

CABLECOMMUNICATIONS RESOURCE CENTER

AND

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CONSORTIUM TO

IMPROVE COLLEGE SERVICES

BLACK COLLEGES AND CABLE TELEVISION

A PRELIMINARY PLANNING

AND

PREFEASIBILITY STUDY

by

Marion P. Hayes

May - August 1973

CRITIQUE

BLACK COLLEGES AND CABLE TELEVISION

A PRELIMINARY PLANNING

AND PREFEASIBILITY STUDY

Submitted by: Marion P. Hayes, Project Manager

For more than a century Black colleges have played a vital part in the history of this country. They have been the harvesting ground for Black leadership. Among their many contributions to all areas of American life, they undoubtedly can be credited with their pioneering efforts in assisting persons to break the industrial and professional barriers that denied Blacks entry into the mainstream. During the past decade the Black colleges, particularly, have been acutely aware of the need for Blacks to participate meaningfully in the communications industry.

In my opinion, this study has shown that Black colleges have the potential, motivation, and capabilities to make a dramatic impact on determining the future educational trends in communication technology, particularly cable. Many of the Black colleges are presently cablecasting educational and cultural programs on campus, using equipment that is the rival of most cable systems. Through coordinated efforts between the colleges, guidance from Black cable specialists, and major assistance in funding, the Black colleges could design a communications delivery system unlike any presently in operation or being proposed.

Telecommunications Survey of Black Colleges

(by Marion Hayes for TACTIC and CRC)

No. of Black Colleges Surveyed = 111 No. of Colleges Responding = 80

Position of Person Responding

a) Presidents	= 21	d) Administrators	= 13
b) Vice Presidents	= 4	e) Dept. Heads	= 15
c) Deans	= 8	f) Instructors	= 5
		g) Other	= 14

Academic Offerings

a)	No. of Blk Colleges offering broadcasting courses	= 19
b)	No. of Colleges expanding or beginning courses (within 5 years)	= 47
c)	No. of Schools of Communication	= 2
d)	No. of Colleges offering bachelor's degrees in broadcasting	= 5

Communications Systems

a)	No. of College FM radio stations	= 8	(Footnote 1)
b)	No. of commercial FM radio stations	= 1	(Footnote 2)
c)	No. of carrier current radio stations	= 5	(Footnote 3)
d)	No. of Colleges planning radio stations	= 4	(Footnote 4)
e)	No. of Colleges using video equipment	= 58	
f)	No. of Colleges offering closed circuit TV courses	= 17	
g)	No. of Colleges involved with State Ed. TV network	= 5	

---

[1] Central State U.
Clark College
Fisk U.
Grambling College
Hampton Institute
Lincoln U. (Mo.)
Shaw U.
Texas Southern U.

[2] Howard U.

[3] Atlanta U.
Bishop College
Johnson C. Smith U.
North Carolina A&T U.
Tennessee State U.

[4] Fort Valley State U.
Morgan State College
Oakwood College
Langston U.

Cable Involvement

a) No. of Colleges in cable cities = 38
b) No. of Colleges in cities anticipating cable within 2 years = 26
c) No. of Colleges involved with cable = 21
d) No. of Colleges interested in cable consortium = 61

Involvement with Local Broadcasters

a) No. of off-campus commercial stations broadcasting College sports = 2
b) No. of stations offering student training programs = 13
c) No. of stations using College Produced Programs = 9

TELECOMMUNICATIONS SURVEY

NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES SENT: 111

NUMBER OF PERSONS RESPONDING: 80

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number not Responding
Person Responding to Questionnaire	1	President	*21	
		Vice-President	4	
		Dean	8	
		Administrator	13	
		Department Head	15	
		Instructor	5	
		Other	14	
SECTION A - ACADEMIC PROGRAMS				
How many courses are offered in Radio?	2A	1	4	
		2	4	
		3	0	
		4 or more	7	
		None	64	
How many courses are offered in Television?	2B	1	5	
		2	7	
		3	0	
		4 or more	7	
		None	60	

* One college president responded but not to question listed in survey

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number not Responding
How many technical courses are offered	2C	1 2 3 4 or more None	6 2 1 2 68	
Will you begin courses or enlarge the number of courses in broadcasting within the next 5 years?	3	Yes No	47 20	12
Do you have a School of Communications?		Yes No	2 77	
Is a degree in Broadcasting offered?	5A	Yes No	5 74	
What degree is given?	5B	BA, BS AA MA	5	
How many faculty people do you have in broadcasting	5C	1 - 3 4 - 5 6 or more None	5 1 2 1	

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number not Responding
How many Broadcasting Majors do you have?	5D	1-10	1	2
		10-20		
		21-30	1	
		30-40		
		40 or more	1	
Do you offer a Graduate Degree in Broadcasting?	5E	Yes	0	2
		No	77	
SECTION B - TYPES OF COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS				
Do you have a radio station on campus?	6A	Yes	14	3
		No	62	
Is it carrier current?	6B	Yes	5	
		No	9	
Do you have an audio/visual dept. with video equipment?	7	Yes	58	
		No	21	
Do you have a Learning Resources Center with video equipment?	8	Yes	43	
		No	36	

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number no Responding
Do you have a Data Retrieval System?	9	Yes No	30 46	3
Are any departments using video equip?	10A	Yes No	58 18	3
SECTION C - INVENTORY OF EQUIPMENT				
Which departments use video equipment?	10B	Film and TV Academic Non-Academic All departments Other	3 40 5 12 2	4
What size video tape do you use?	11A	None 1/2" 3/4" 1" Other	15 14 3 12 1	40
How many cameras do you have?	11B	1-2 3-4 4-5+	16 15 22	4
How many video tape recorders do you have?	11C	1-2 3-4 5-6 7 or more	24 18 3 11	4

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number not Responding
How many monitors do you have?	11D	1-2	13	8
		3-4	8	
		5-10	13	
		11-20	10	
		20 or more	8	
How many TV studios do you have?	11E	None	51	3
		One	18	
		Two	7	
Are some of your cameras portable?	11F	Yes	43	2
		No	10	
What type of equipment do you have?	11G	Ampex	7	19
		Sony	32	
		Cassetts	5	
		Concord	5	
		Panasonic	3	
		Craig	1	
		Other	7	
Are classes taught via CCTV?	12A	Yes	17	1
		No	59	
		Taped, but not CCTV	2	
How many classes are taught over CCTV	12B	1-2	7	
		3-4	1	
		5-7	5	
		8 or more	4	
Are the CCTV classes taped on campus?	12C	Yes	18	
		No	1	

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number not Responding
Is your campus part of the state ETV network?	13	Yes No	5 72	2
		SECTION D - CABLE INVOLVEMENT		
Is cable TV available in your city?	14	Yes No Some activity, but not installed	38 36 4	1
Does your city anticipate having CATV within the next two years?	15	Yes No	26 12	5
Has your campus been involved with cable?	16A	Yes No	22 55	2
How has your campus been involved with cable?	16B	Participation in CATV Committees Student interest in CATV Talks with CATV Operators? Cablecasting Plans Others	5 2 6 6 14	
Would your campus be interested in getting involved in cable?	17	Yes No	64 9	6

Information Requested	Number of Questions	Possible Answers	Number of Respondents	Number not Responding
Would you be interested in participating in a cable consortium?	18	Yes No Need more information	61 8 7	3
Are college courses available via cable in your city?	19	Yes No Don't Know	8 63 6	2
Would you consider offering courses via cable?	20	Yes No	63 10	6
		SECTION E - INVOLVEMENT WITH ESTABLISHED MEDIA		
Is your campus involved with ITFS?	21	Yes No Don't Know	7 67 2	3
Is your campus involved with a local commercial radio or TV station?	22A	Yes No	41 37	1
How are you involved with a commercial station?	22B	Very Little Sports Events-recorded and shown Student training Public Relations Activity Produce programs for use over air Other	4 2 12 15 9 6	1

COLLEGES REPRESENTED IN SURVEY

Historically Black Two-Year Colleges

Institution	Control	Enrollment
Alabama Lutheran College	Private	35
Lomax-Hannon (Ala.)	Private	120
Malcolm-X College (Ill.)	Public	
Mary Holmes College (Miss.)	Private	448
Natchez Junior College	Private	131
Prentiss Normal and Industrial (Miss.)	Private	221
S. D. Bishop State Jr. College	Public	
Selma University (Ala.)	Private	449
Shorter College (Ark.)	Private	255
T. A. Lawson Jr. College (Ala.)	Public	1,601
Utica Junior College (Miss.)	Public	707
Washington Technical Inst. (D.C.)	Public	4,664

Historically Black Four-Year Institutions

State	Institution	Control	Enrollment
Alabama	Daniel Payne College	Private	195
	Miles College	Private	1,056
	Oakwood College	Private	684
	Stillman College	Private	666
	Talladega College	Private	496
Arkansas	Philander Smith College	Private	639
Delaware	Delaware State College	Public	2,401
District of Columbia	Howard University	Private	9,922
	Federal City College	Public	7,144

State	Institution	Control	Enrollment
Florida	Edward Waters College	Private	635
	Florida A&M University	Public	4,600
	Florida Memorial College	Private	768
Georgia	Albany State College	Public	1,803
	Atlanta University	Private	1,048
	Clark College	Private	1,236
	Fort Valley State	Public	2,081
	Morehouse College	Private	1,121
	Morris Brown College	Private	1,462
	Paine College	Private	695
	Spelman College	Private	1,067
Illinois	Malcolm-X College	Public	
Louisiana	Dillard University	Private	1,007
	Grambling College	Public	3,823
	Southern University (Baton Rouge)	Public	9,728 (3 campuses
	Southern University (New Orleans)		
Maryland	Bowie State College	Public	2,797
	Coppin State College	Public	2,800
	Morgan State College	Public	6,432
Michigan	Shaw College at Detroit)	Private	
Mississippi	Alcorn A&M College	Public	2,538
	Mississippi Valley State	Public	2,530
	Rust College	Private	714
	Tougaloo College	Private	817
Missouri	Lincoln University	Public	2,615
North Carolina	Barber-Scotia College	Private	513
	Bennett College	Private	542
	Elizabeth City State	Public	1,109
	Fayetteville State	Public	1,643
	Johnson C. Smith University	Private	1,043
	Livingston College	Private	744
	North Carolina A&T	Public	3,797
	N.C. Central University	Public	4,028
	Shaw University	Private	1,154
	St. Augustine's College	Private	1,442
	Winston-Salem University	Public	1,720

State	Institution	Control	Enrollment
Ohio	Central State	Public	2,565
	Wilberforce University	Private	1,273
Oklahoma	Langston University	Public	1,235
Pennsylvania	Cheyney State	Public	2,560
South Carolina	Benedict College	Private	1,370
	South Carolina State Col.	Public	2,640
Tennessee	Fisk University	Private	1,556
	Knoxville College	Private	927
	Meharry Medical College	Private	531
	Tennessee State Univ.	Public	4,712
Texas	Bishop College	Private	1,561
	Houston-Tillotson	Private	683
	Jarvis Christian	Private	703
	Paul Quinn College	Private	491
	Prarie View A & M	Public	4,435
	Texas Southern	Private	6,544
	Wiley College	Private	582
Virginia	Hampton Institute	Private	2,676
	Norfolk State College	Public	5,076
	St. Paul's College	Private	508
	The Virginia College	Private	102
	Virginia State	Public	3,699
	Virginia Union Univ.	Private	1,459

Yes!

AVAILABLE SERVICES

- Are Black colleges participating in cable franchise negotiations? YES—Coppin St. College, Baltimore, Md.
- Are Black colleges programming over cable channels? YES—Shaw U., Raleigh, N.C.
- Are Black colleges cablecasting? YES—Fayetteville St. U.
- Are Black colleges expanding their campus through cable? YES—Florida A&M

IS YOUR COLLEGE INVOLVED?

CABLE CLEARINGHOUSE
FOR MINORITY EDUCATORS

Cablecommunications Resource Center is a national information clearinghouse for Black, Spanish-speaking, Indian and other minorities involved with cable television. It was established by the Booker T. Washington Foundation under a contract from the Office of Minority Business Enterprise. The Center carefully disseminates technical information and factual data on the educational and economic potential of cable television. One of the priorities of the Center is assisting Black colleges to fully utilize the potential of new education technology.

Among CRC's functions are: 1) ensuring participation by minority educators in determining local and national policy toward cable television; 2) relating information on the potentials of cable to Black colleges; 3) providing assistance in the development of programmed materials that will increase educational opportunities for minority people; 4) assisting educational institutions to interface with cable operators; 5) disseminating cable information to educators on current trends in educational technology.

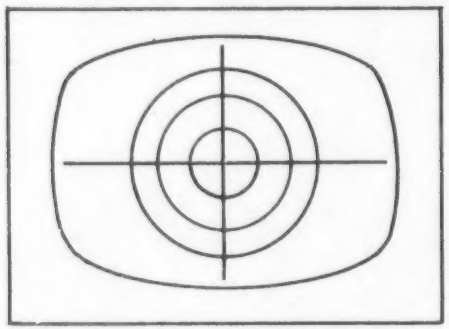
Recently, CRC completed a study on Black colleges and their potential for involvement in cable television. The data collected provides the only complete profile on telecommunication resources on the campuses. CRC also has a comprehensive reference library of cable television materials produced by other sources; it disseminates bibliographies on education and cable; prepares specialized materials for conferences and seminars; and review studies prepared by the private sector and original research conducted by the CRC staff.

CRC undertakes policy-oriented research projects for local and national organizations plus planning and feasibility studies for educational institutions. Through these activities, the Center is able to provide quantitative and qualitative data regarding funding agencies and opportunities for participation in all aspects of cable system planning, development, ownership and operation.

CRC publishes CABLELINES, a monthly newsletter designed to keep the minority community abreast of current developments in cable. It covers all aspects of cable, including legislation/congressional development, FCC activities, minority cable investment and ownership opportunities, cable financing, grants, cable manufacturing, regular reports on the status of the top 100 markets, cable research and development projects, minority media acquisitions, cable programming, a calendar of events, book reviews, recommended readings, and a classified "Help Wanted" column.

black colleges

Black colleges are beginning to recognize the economic, political, and educational significance of cable television. Projects on campuses throughout the country are proving that cable can: increase educational opportunities for minorities, improve pupil instruction, significantly increase class enrollment through off-campus cable classes, ease public pressure on "sold out" athletic events, improve facility utilization, bring the campus closer to the community, and permit the sharing of activities between colleges through 2-way coaxial links.



BLACK COLLEGES PRESENTLY INVOLVED WITH CABLE INCLUDE:

Alabama Lutheran Col., Selma, Ala.
Benedict Col., Columbia, S.C.
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.
Central State U., Wilberforce, O.
Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.
Coppin State Col., Baltimore, Md.
Edward Waters Col., Jacksonville, Fla.
Fayetteville State U., Fayetteville, N.C.
Federal City Col., Washington, D.C.
Florida A&M U., Tallahassee, Fla.
Grambling Col., Grambling, La.
Howard U., Washington, D.C.
Knoxville Col., Knoxville, Tenn.
Meharry Medical Col., Nashville, Tenn.
Miles Col., Birmingham, Ala.
Mississippi Valley St. Col., Itta Bena, Miss.
Shaw Univ., Raleigh, N.C.
South Carolina St. Col., Orangeburg, S.C.
Virginia State Col., Petersburg, Va.
Wilberforce U., Wilberforce, O.

Info. collected through CRC survey of Black colleges
June 1973

CABLECOMMUNICATIONS RESOURCE CENTER

For additional information contact:

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Resource Center
1900 L Street, N.W.
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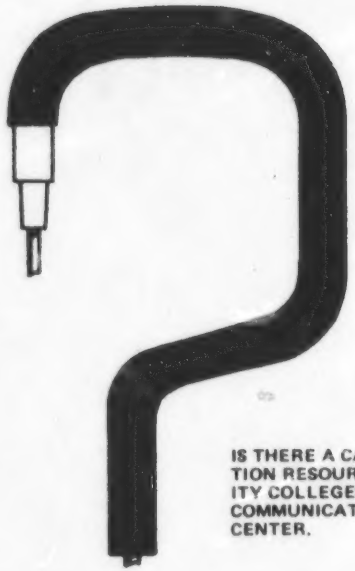
Washington, D.C. 20036

CHARLES TATE, Executive Director



IS THERE A CABLE INFORMATION RESOURCE FOR MINORITY COLLEGES? YES, CABLECOMMUNICATIONS RESOURCE CENTER.

CABLECOMMUNICATIONS RESOURCE CENTER

APPENDIX E

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON D.C. 20410

Phone (202) 755-5280

FOR RELEASE AFTER:
9 A.M., Thursday
September 20, 1973

REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

by

FLOYD H. HYDE

Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

at the

Second Conference

of the

Black Colleges and Community Development Program

Holiday Inn Downtown

Chicago, Illinois

September 20, 1973

It's a great pleasure to be with you again.

This meeting -- this second conference of the Black Colleges and Community Development Program -- is an event of great significance.

About three years have passed since President Nixon joined leading Black educators in expressing concern for "an indispensable national resource," the Nation's Black colleges and universities.

Two and a half years have gone by since you and I first met to talk about the great potential of Black educational institutions in the area of community development.

Earlier this year, to help speed the definition of that potential, we at HUD approved a modest grant to the Technical Assistance Consortium to Improve College Services.

Now we've come together to hear status reports and weigh findings contributed by some 60 colleges and universities.

- more -

We're moving into high gear. And the timing could hardly be better. I'm convinced that the United States is entering a new community development era. The Congress is about to get down to business on our Better Communities proposal, which I believe will result in landmark legislation.

The approaches called for by the Better Communities Act will revolutionize community development planning and management.

That revolution will greatly expand the requirement for local planners — for on-the-scene expertise to replace much of what we've been supplying from Washington.

I'm sure this conference will establish beyond any doubt that a great deal of that expertise can be found at your own institutions.

In making the point, you will be helping to underscore the importance of Black Colleges and universities to the future of this Nation.

But you will be striking a significant blow in another area as well. You will bring greater recognition to the need for direct minority involvement in the conduct of local government.

I've made the point time and again that the real source of America's strength is its people and the degree to which they're involved in the processes of government.

- more -

If we are truly to build our Nation and its cities, all citizens must have equal access to the decision-making process and the implementation of plans.

I know many of you have called it "a piece of the action." By whatever term we choose, it's what power, progress and justice are all about.

For too long in our history, the attitude toward the poor, the minority citizen, those without power was simply, "Let's not worry about it."

More recently, as evolution and conscience and action began to turn things around, the attitude became, "Well, let's do something good for them." You know all about that.

And more recently still, we came to great national determination to design sweeping Federal programs for what the designers called "the disadvantaged citizen."

Too many of those programs -- many OEO programs among them -- became paternalistic cop-outs. They offered some good here and some promise there in a general atmosphere of limited accomplishment and false hope for the long run.

Local institutions too often have looked on Federal grant money as a plaything to buy off the poor -- as a means of saying to them, "All right, you stay over there and do your thing and don't bother us." But the poor are being shortchanged.

The other day, I saw some interesting figures from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Sixty percent of the people who seek social services are turned away, primarily because of the confusion and red tape in hundreds of narrow-based social service programs. Of the 40 percent who finally get in an agency's door, only 17 percent actually get served.

Meanwhile, our community development grant programs have serious deficiencies of their own.

When urban renewal began, it hurt the poor in many cases by tearing down their homes without offering them better ones. More recently, urban renewal money too often has simply been worked around the poor, leaving them where they are -- and no better off -- while putting a new face on Main Street.

Model Cities programs have fared somewhat better. We're just getting off the ground with them in most cities. But the number of cities has been rather limited -- specifically, about 150.

Now the critics charge that, under the Better Communities Act, we're going to let all those Model Cities efforts wither and die.

It's an absurd charge.

We all know, of course, that the New Federalism -- the philosophical base of the Better Communities Act -- assigns each function of government to the most appropriate level of government.

The New Federalism sends power and responsibility back to the elected officials nearest the people -- officials directly accountable to the people.

And under BCA, that translates into block grants to replace the present categorical programs.

We're saying to local general purpose governments, "You know your needs and priorities better than we do. You're even more sick of Federal red tape and mountains of paperwork than we are. You take the money. You make the decisions. You do the job."

But we hear the loud cry that we're abandoning Federal responsibility. We're told the cities and the counties can be counted upon only to ignore the minorities and the poor altogether.

I repeat, it's an absurd charge. It's absurd because two groups of people are not going to let the poor and the minorities be ignored or abandoned.

First of all, the Federal Government is not going to let it happen. We're not offering so much window dressing when we stipulate that recipient governments must publish their community development plans locally, for citizen approval, 60 days in advance of submission to HUD.

We don't look upon it simply as a meaningless gesture when we promise to verify that funds are spent honestly, for advertised purposes.

And we mean it when we say those funds must be used in a non-discriminatory fashion and that relevant existing civil rights statutes apply.

But second -- and most important -- the poor and the minorities will not be cut out of the action because they themselves won't let it happen.

Fortunately, this Nation has come a long way since the days of powerless minorities.

We in this Administration are convinced that the poor and the minorities can hold their own --- that their upward mobility is continuing and undeniable --- that they are too sophisticated in the ways of power to be pushed around or ignored any longer.

The evidence is everwhere that sensitivity to this fact of political life has built up in local officials throughout the country.

The dynamics at the local level, in my opinion, will result in ever more meaningful participation by minorities in their fortune and their future.

We believe, in fact, that we are taking the shackles off the poor and the minorities with the New Federalism. We believe we're making it possible for them to get further into the act than ever before.

Much of that improvement will be accomplished by pressure at the ballot box, but much of it also will come about through contributions you have to make at the academic and professional levels.

I was interested in an article earlier this month by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. It appeared in The Wall Street Journal.

Mr. Jordan said at one point that he has little faith in state and local governments to make humane judgments. He said at another point that Black people will have to be vigilant under the new system — as indeed they will.

But he confessed this, and I quote directly:

> A considerable number of Urban League affiliates report that mayors in their cities plan to commit these funds to solid programs in the social services, and that the Black community will participate as administrators and as beneficiaries of local programs.

This nation's cities will soon discover — those that have not done so already -- that they can't ignore your interest, your abilities, your direct knowledge of the conditions we must change.

That is why the diligent and thorough research you've done under the TACTICS program is so valuable.

And I'd like to point out one other fact before I leave this subject.

Under BCA, some 1,100 cities and about 90 urban counties would qualify automatically for community development grants.

What that means for you — and for the poor and minorities in those cities and counties — is a much broader possibility of influencing local community development actions.

In closing, I recognize that community development is our primary purpose here. But we're less and less able to justify a division between traditional community development activity and housing.

Yesterday, President Nixon sent our new housing recommendations to Capitol Hill. Of course, that action followed the six-month study, which in turn followed the subsidized housing program suspensions of last January.

We knew before the study began about the general faults of the subsidized housing programs — the waste, the inequities, the problem of foreclosures.

But the study fleshed out our fears, as it were.

We found that at least 40 percent of the American people are eligible for one subsidized housing program or another. Think what would happen if they all applied.

We discovered we've been subsidizing many home purchases or apartment rentals for people making more than $12,000 a year.

We learned we're not helping the people who really need it. The average income of a family of four for participants in our Section 235 home ownership program is $6,500. The average income for a family of four in the Section 236 apartment rental program is $5,300.

The failure shows up even more when we consider this:

If you add the number of people living in single or multi-family dwellings built under the 1968 housing subsidy programs, and add to that the number of people in public housing, you get 6.1 million. Yet there are 24.5 million Americans whose incomes are below the poverty line.

As for the growing foreclosure problem, we fear that within the next decade, 19 percent of those Section 235 homes and 20 percent of the Section 236 apartment projects will be foreclosed.

In other words, it's more obvious than ever that the old subsidized housing programs were no more worthy than the old categorical community development programs have been.

And so we want to do away with them, gradually.

Beginning with the elderly poor who are on welfare, we want to use the housing allowance as a means of seeing that those who need new places to live will be able to find them, and that the choice of what kind of home and in what location will be the individual's choice, not the developer's or the government's choice.

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In time, the housing allowance approach will be expanded to include other categories.

Meanwhile, we could make maximum use of the existing housing supply, with and without rehabilitation, for lower income families, rather than leaving the emphasis on new construction.

We would retain a subsidy program, of a new variety, for areas where housing is in short supply.

We would expand the present leased public housing law to cover families with higher but moderate incomes.

And we would keep the overall housing construction market healthy -- and meet middle-income housing construction requirements -- with a system of incentives for the mortgage markets. Actually, these incentives will result in more housing for more people in every income category.

What does the housing allowance concept do for minorities? For the first time, the poor and the minorities will be able to go out and look for housing wherever it exists.

They will walk into the open market, able to leave behind the stigma of living in a ghetto project erected by good old Uncle Sam.

Obviously, you can end up again with racial concentrations if tenants prefer those locations. But it's a far different thing to come by them voluntarily.

As for the harsh realities of the open market, we're going to see that Equal Housing Opportunity laws are enforced. We're not going to sit back and wait for those with grievances to call us. We are proposing a step-up of affirmative marketing and fair housing laws and enforcement activities.

We want to make sure that people are given this choice and are well aware of their rights, so that the choice is REAL. And we intend to let the landlords know what the law is. I can assure you we will move ever more firmly in that direction.

And so, in community development and in housing, we are moving along new and exciting avenues -- roads that lead to far more promising solutions than the old programs would have ever opened to us.

But we must be able to harness the enthusiasm, the energy and the good will of our fellow Americans.

I thank you for your own considerable efforts, and I look forward with great pleasure and anticipation to the far-reaching contributions you surely will make in the months and years ahead.

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